

103
D. N. (C. 7. C. 0.)
Imperator of Rome
ESSAY

Of date
MEANS and COUNSELS

Whereby the

Commonwealth

OF

ROME

Was alter'd and reduc'd unto a

MONARCHY.

*Tu regere imperio Populos Romana memento:
Hæc tibi erunt artes.* Virg. *Æneid.* 6.

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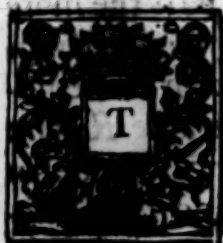


AUGUSTUS:

O R,

An ESSAY of those Means and Counsels, by which the Commonwealth of *Rome* was alter'd, and reduc'd unto a Monarchy.

Section 1.



THEY which have heretofore written of Commonwealths, have divided them into three Species: The Government of the King; secondly, of the Nobles; and thirdly, of the People. Either of these is again subdivided into Good and Evil; the Evil from being only the Good corrupted; the Good nothing else but the Bad refin'd. So is the Government of a King, divided into a Monarchy, and a Tyranny: Of the Nobles, into an Aristocracy, and an Oligarchy: Of the People, into a Republick, and a Democracy. All these, as well in general, as in the several Couplets, have a secret Inclination to change the one into the other, and to make a Pythagorical Transmigration (as it were) into each other's Being. I need not stand on many Instances; the Commonwealth of *Rome* (into whose Stories whosoever looketh, will judge them rather to contain the Acts of the whole World, than a particular Nation) will serve for all. *Romulus*, at the Foundation of his City, reserv'd unto himself the chief Sovereignty, leaving it entire to his Successors. *Numa*, *Ancus*, *Tullius*, *Tarquinius*, *Priscus*, and *Servius*,
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govern'd

govern'd themselves so moderately, the People so justly, that they affected not Tyranny, nor the Commons Liberty. They appear'd more desirous to fill the Coffers of their Subjects, than their own Treasuries: And when Necessity compell'd them to a Tax, they rather seem'd to shear their Sheep, than fleece them.

§ 2. But *Superbus*, a Man of insupportable Vices, having by Violence enthroniz'd himself in that Chair of State, which, had not his ambitious Spirit been impatient of Delay, would have been his rightful Inheritance, made his Government answerable to his Entrance, cruel and bloody. How many Men, eminent as well by their own Virtue, as their Parents Nobility, did he cut off? How many did he, for no Cause, promote, to make their Fall the more remarkable? What Part of the Senate was free from Slaughter? What Corner of the City from Lamentations? Yet this was not all; the miserable *Romans* were visited with three Plagues at once; Pride in the Father, Cruelty in the Mother, and Lust insatiable in their Son *Sextus*; a true Copy of the old Originals. Either of these had been more than enough to exercise the Peoples Patience. But meeting all at one Time, it seem'd that nothing could now be added to the Wretchedness of the one, and the Wickedness of the other. *Brutus*, a Man fatal to Tyrants, did easily perswade the Commons to shake off this Yoke; for they, as well desirous of Novelties, as sensible of Oppressions, had long since murmur'd at the present State, and wanted nothing but a Head, to break into actual Rebellion. So the People got the Freedom, and the Kings lost the Dominion of the City. (*An. V. C. 244*)

§ 3. *Brutus*, although he wanted no fair Title to the Crown, yet either perceiving how odious the Name of King was grown, or perhaps willing to be rather the first Consul, than the last Prince, instituted a new

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new Form of Government, wherein the Sway of all, was referr'd to the Fathers of the City; out of whom, two were annually chosen, as chief of the rest. Herein certainly he dealt very advisedly; for had he sought to confirm himself in the Kingdom, what could Men judge, but that not Love to his Country, was the Cause that stirr'd him to take Arms, but Desire of Rule. Again, besides that secure Privacy is to be preferr'd before hazardous Royalty, what Hope had he to keep the Seat long, having, by his own Example, taught the People both the Theory and Practice of Rebellion? Under this new Aristocracy, the *Roman* Affairs succeeded so prosperously, their Dominions were enlarg'd so infinitely, that it may well be question'd, whether the *Roman* Fortune caus'd their Greatness, or their Valour commanded their Fortune: For the Governors, not seeking Wealth, but Honour, or not their own Wealth, but the Publick, did so demean themselves, both in Peace and War, that there was between all, a virtuous Emulation, who should most benefit his Country.

§ 4. This Happiness was too great to continue long; the People had as yet no written Statutes, Custom bearing most Sway, and the rest of the Law lock'd up in the Breast of the Judges. To avoid such Inconveniencies as might hence ensue, there were some Men, known to be as sound in Judgement, as honest in their Actions, deputed by a general Commission to take an Abstract of the *Gracian* Laws; according to the Tenor whereof, the People fram'd their Lives; the Judges their Sentences.

Here follow'd the Oligarchy, or Decemvirate State of *Rome*; (*An. V. C. 304*) but long it lasted not; for these new Lords joining Forces together, made themselves rich with the Spoil of the People; not caring by what unlawful Means they could purchase either Profit or Pleasure. *Appius Claudius.*

one of the *Decemviri*, was the Break-neck of this Government. He, unmindful of *Lucretia* and the *Tarquins*, lusted after *Virginia*, a Woman, tho' of low Condition, yet such a Woman in whom Beauty and Virtue strove for the Preheminency. She was, in an open Assembly, to prevent the Dishonour of his Child, slain by her Father; *Appius* forc'd to make away himself in Prison; and the rest of that Magistracy abdicating their Offices, the Consuls were for a Time restor'd.

§ 5. The People, flush'd with this Victory, and calling to mind how their Ancestors had in like manner banish'd the Kings, began to know their own Strength, and stomach'd it exceedingly, that they on whose Shoulders the Frame of the State was supported, should be so much under the Command of others, that they who were Lords abroad, should be below the Condition of Slaves at Home. Hereupon, they raise a Tumult, under the Conduct of their Tribune, *Camuleius*. Nor could they by any Perswasions, be induc'd to lay down Arms, till they had obtain'd a Decree, that from thenceforth the Nobles and the Commons might promiscuously be marry'd. And this was the first Step to the Republick. (*An. V. C. 308*) The gaining this new Privilege, put them in Possibility of obtaining greater: They now sue to be capable of the Consulship. The Fathers consulting of this Demand, wisely foresaw, that to grant their Petition, and to deny it, was alike dangerous: For were it utterly dash'd, it was to be fear'd the People would again forsake the City, and yet make their Stay more insolent and insupportable, if it were granted. *C. Claudius*, one who by his honourable Behaviour, was by both Parties had in an equal Degree of Reverence, quickly propos'd a middle Course, whereby the Fury of the Multitude might be appeas'd, without Blemish to the Consular Dignity. He constituted six annu-

al Officers, equally chosen out of the People and the Nobles, calling them *Tribuni Militum Consularis Potestatis*. (*An. V. C. 310.*) This Office continu'd, but not without many *Interstitiums*, the Space of 78 Years. Which Time expir'd, and some Experience being had of the Peoples Government, the Lords of the Senate did decree, that one of the Consuls should from thenceforth be chosen by, and out of the Commons; that they should be capable of all Magistracies; yea, even of the Dictatorship. (*An. V. C. 388.*) So that now Virtue was as speedy a Ladder, to climb unto Honours, as Nobility of Birth; and a good Man as much respected, as a great. A rare Felicity of the Times!

§ 6. The People being thus mix'd with the Nobles, as well in Marriages, as Honours, one would have thought that this Commonwealth, being thus equally pois'd, had been immortal. But as in the natural Body, there can be no exact and arithmetical Proportion of the Humours and Elements, without some Predominancy; so in the Body politick, can there be no equal Mixture of *Plebeians* and *Patritians*, without the Supremacy of the one or the other. The People had, presently after the Institution of the Consuls, rais'd a Commotion, and withdrew themselves into Mount *Aventine*. Nor could they be intreated to return into the City, till there were granted unto them peculiar Officers, call'd *Tribuni Plebis*, or Protectors of the Commons. (*An. V. C. 260.*) These being, not long after, by the Common Council, pronounc'd to be *Sacro Sancti*, and inviolable, began to heave the popular State too high, and thrust the Aristocratical too low; not regarding to lose the Love of the one, so they might get the Applause of the other: Insomuch, that Matters of Judgment were devolv'd from the Fathers, to the Commons; and the Authority of the Senate, trod under Foot by the People: Nay, they proceeded so far, that *Mori-*

us being Tribune, threaten'd to send *Cotta* the Consul unto Prison. And *Sulpitius*, in the same Office, made the Consuls forsake the Senate-House, and slew one of their Sons, whose Heels were nor nimble enough to fly away. And now were the *Romans* govern'd by that Form of Rule, than which, there is no lower. So that as well by an inevitable Necessity in Nature, as the ordinary Course of Policies, there must be a Recession to the first, and Monarchical Jurisdiction. For questionless it fareth many Times with a Commonwealth, as with the Sun; which runneth through all the Signs of the Zodiack, till it return to the Place where its Motion first began. And the *Platonick* Year of reducing all Things to the same Beginning, Continuance, and Period, how false soever in the Books of Nature, is in some Sort true in the Change of Government.

§ 7. The Way down Hill, is easy and ordinary, but to ascend unto the Top, requireth both Wit to frame Steps, and Courage to give the Attempt. So was it here also with the *Romans*; they had naturally, and almost insensibly fallen from a Monarchy, to a Populacy or Democracy. But to ascend from a Populacy, to a Monarchy, requir'd many Steps and Degrees in many, much Industry in all. *Marius* and *Sylla*, well skill'd in feeding the Humours of the People, were the first that attempted, and severally mounted to such a Height of Command, as never durst any promise to them, nor they hope for themselves. *Marius* was of an harsh and stern Nature, equally cruel to the Enemies in War, and the People in Peace; one whose Birth the *Romans* might have had just Cause to curse, had he not sav'd them from the *Cimbri*. *Sylla* was one whose Carriage none could enough commend before, or sufficiently condemn after his Prosperity; a Man whose Peace was far more bloody, than his Wars; a better Subject, than a Prince. These two gave Way each to the other, and both to Death.

§ 8.

§ 8. Next these, as well in Faction and Designs, as Blood and Alliance, succeeded *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; two Men never truly parallell'd since their own Times. *Cæsar* had a Wit to invent so pregnant, a Heart to execute so stout, and to both a Fortune so favourable, that he durst undertake what no Man dar'd, and his Performances commonly were answerable to his Undertakings. *Pompey*, a Man greater than his own or his Friends Wilhes, had triumph'd over all the Parts of the known World; and could he but have brook'd an Equal, he had never met a Superior. Had these two liv'd in divers Ages, or exercis'd their Valour on the common Enemy, the World had been too little to yield them Employments. But turning their Forces one against the other, *Pompey*, overthrown in the Field, was basely murder'd in *Ægypt*; and *Cæsar*, victoriously Conqueror in *Thessaly*, was barbarously massacred in the Capitol. And though none of these four Worthies could settle the Monarchy in himself, yet this shall be to their eternal Memory recorded, that they first open'd the Passage to others, and first mov'd the Stone, which rowling along, tumbled the People out of the Government.

§ 9. After the Overthrow of *Pompey*, and Death of *Cæsar*, the Commonwealth might have recover'd Liberty, if *Cæsar* had left no Heir, and *Pompey* no Children; or rather, if *Antonius*, a Man of an unquiet and turbulent Spirit, had not begun new Troubles: For he knowing the Affection of the common People unto young *Octavius*, *Cæsar*'s Heir, and hearing the continual Report of his Approach to *Rome*, for his Inheritance, did, by Decree of the Senate, restore *Sextus*, the Son of *Pompey*, to his Blood and Honours; hoping that they two, inheriting their Fathers Hatreds, would, like Pellets in a Boy's Pot-Gun, drive out each other, and so he might remain Lord of the Whole. But young *Octavius*

was

was too old to be so fetch'd over; and had moreover more Desire to revenge his Father's Death on *Brutus* and *Cassius*, than turn himself upon an Enemy, that neither had done, nor could do him any Hurt. At his first Entry into *Rome*, he declar'd himself *Cesar's* Heir; though some, regarding more his Well-fare than his Honour, dissuaded him from it. His Retinue, at his Entrance, was but small, his Behaviour gentle and courteous; so that all had Cause to love him; none to fear him. His first Business was to *Antonius*, the possess'd of all *Cesar's* Estate. His Words as modest, as his Petition just. *Antonius* answers somewhat churlish, forbidding him to meddle in Matters of State; that he was too young to take upon him the Name of *Cesar*, and so dismiss'd him unsatisfy'd.

§ 10. *Augustus* (for by that Name we mean to call him, though he was not yet so call'd) perceiving that *Antonius's* Answer, though in Shew but a Delay, was in Effect a Denial, insinuated into the Acquaintance of *Cicero*, then potent among the Senators, and a capital Enemy of *Antonius's*; by Means whereof, the Lords of the Senate began to cast great Affection towards him. Next, in a solemn Oration to the People, he let them know how he intended to have distributed his Father's Wealth among them; and how *Antonius* did unjustly detain it from them both. Certainly there is not any Thing prevaileth sooner with ignoble Men, than Hope of Gain. No sooner had he finish'd his Speeches, and given away that to them which he thought impossible to get for himself, but all was in a Tumult. None was so sparing of his Words, but he had some Curse in store for *Antonius*: Every one vowing the Destruction of that Man, whom they suppos'd to deprive them of *Augustus's* Donative.

§ 11. In this Hurly-burly, *Antonius* quits the Town, and is by the general Voice of both Houses, declar'd

clar'd an Enemy to the State: An Army is given to *Hircius* and *Pansa*, then Consuls; *Augustus*, aged but 18 Years, being proclaim'd *Imperator*; and made Head of the League against the common Foe. *Augustus*, as he lov'd not to be absent from a necessary War, so he always us'd to reserve himself from the Dangers of it; and therefore he committed the whole Enterprize unto the Consuls; well knowing that tho' the Officers and Soldiers took most Pains to get the Victory, yet would the Honour of it be re-ferr'd to him, as *Imperator*. Whereas, if any Thing fell out to the Army, not well, his being a *Non-agent* in the Business, would bring his Honour off without Stain. The Consuls therefore proceed in the War against *Antonius*, who seeing little Possibility of prevailing, resolv'd to sell the Loss of his own Liberty, and his Soldiers Lives, at a dear Rate. And indeed the Fortune of the Day was so equally shar'd, that as the Consuls might boast of the Vanquishment of *Antonius*; so *Antonius* might triumph in the Death of the Consuls.

§ 12. *Augustus* now had as much as he could desire, more than he expected; a populous Army at his Service. He therefore applies himself so to them, that giving that among them, which he had in Present, and promising them greater Favours, according as his Fortune and their Valour should advance him, he bound them unto him in an eternal Bond of Allegiance, and made them the first Step by which he ascended the Royalty. The Lords of *Rome* hearing of the young Man's Fortune, thought it best to strangle these Hopes, even in their Cradles; and to that End, decree the Honour of overcoming *Antonius*, not to belong unto *Augustus*, but to *D. Brutus*; for whose Defence, (being besieg'd by *Antonius* in *Mutina*) their Army had been levy'd. Nor did they think this Frost of unexpected

Unkindness, sufficient to nip the Blossom of his Hopes, but they deny'd him the Consulship. These harsh Proceedings compell'd *Augustus*, his Honour now lying at the Stake, to enter *Rome* as Conqueror, and force the Fathers to grant him his Desires. Having thus gotten what for the Time he aim'd at, he generally shew'd himself grateful to all, and particularly to some of the Soldiers, paying them what was behind by Promise, and openly protesting, that without their Aid, he durst not have adventur'd into the Capitol. So by keeping his Day with the military Men, and shewing his noble and generous Nature in a thankful Commemoration of their Service, he added stronger Bonds to such as were already his own, and won many daily to his Side, which before were either Neutral, or Adversaries.

§ 13. *Antonius*, in the mean Time was not idle; but knowing that *Lepidus* was beyond the Mountains with a puissant Army, he posted thither; and so far prevail'd with the Soldiers, that he was admitted into the Camp, where the General entertain'd him with all Expressions of Love and Welcome. *Antonius* perceiving the facile Nature of *Lepidus*, soon perswaded him to lead his Forces into *Italy*; promising him no less than the Lordship of the World, if he durst but shew his Face to the *Romans*. *Augustus* having continual News of this Combination, and fearing much the Prowess of *Antonius*, now strengthen'd, conceiv'd no Cause so fitting and convenient to his Ends, as to join Friendship, and to enter into Confederacy with them. (*An. V. C. 710.*) And this he did, not for any good Will to either, but because being destitute of Means to resist them, and also to revenge the Death of his Father *Julius*, which he much labour'd, he might with their Forces oppress *Cassius* and *M. Brutus*, and after, as Occasion fell out, deal with them being severed.

§ 14. This League was solemnly confirm'd by a bloody Proscription immediately following; wherein, to be reveng'd on their Enemies, they betray'd their Friends. A lamentable and rueful Time, Good and Bad, Rich and Poor, being alike subject to the Slaughter. Now was the Time of *Julius Caesar's* Government thought to be the Golden Age; and every one began to curse *Brutus* and *Cassius*, as the Authors of these present Miseries; whom they but lately honour'd as the Restorers of the Commonwealth. Nay, the very Kings were deem'd tolerable; and such as liv'd in their Days, happy. The poor *Romans* had not chang'd the Tyranny, but the Tyrants: Yea, they had three for one, into the Bargain. Such is the Quality of us Men; we know not our own Happiness in the Fruition, but the Want. Two of these *Triumviri* glutted themselves with Blood, taking Pride in hearing the lamentable Cries and Groans of the People. *Augustus*, on the contrary, shew'd himself much griev'd at this barbarous Cruelty; so that his Consent seem'd rather forc'd, than voluntary.

§ 15. This Proscription in it self, tho' cruel and tyrannical, yet produc'd some good and profitable Effects in the Republick: For when, by this Proscription and the ensuing Civil War, the stoutest of the Nobles and Commons were made away, few being left which durst endeavour to recover the old Liberty, *Augustus* did the more easily establish his Monarchy, and restore Peace to the City. Moreover, the Prosecution of this Cruelty so incens'd the People against *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, that *Augustus*, whom most held excusable, found them always his fast Friend; if not for Love to him, yet in Spight to them. I cannot here omit the like Effect springing from the like Cause, in our *Rich. 3.* who (though far enough from conceiving any such happy Event) made Riddance of so many in the then factious Families,

milies, that leaving a Male in the one, and a Female in the other, surviving, this Kingdom, by a Marriage between them, grew well settled, which might otherwise have been again endanger'd by some new Competitors. So unsearchable are the Judgments of God, and his Ways past finding out. But to proceed. *Antonius* and *Augustus* leaving the Guard of the City to *Lepidus*, and with joint Forces march against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, both overthrown by *Antonius*; whom therefore did *Augustus* put upon that Service, as well to diminish *Antonius's* Forces, as to keep his own entire. As for himself, either he in Policy suffer'd himself to be driven out of the Field by *Brutus*, to make *Antonius* more Work, or else indeed durst not abide the Battel. Such End had *Brutus* and *Cassius*, two Men whom *Fortune* seem'd to be in Love with on a sudden, and did as suddenly forsake them. *Brutus* the more accomplish'd Man; *Cassius* the more expert Soldier. (*An. V. C.* 711.)

§ 16. I pass over *Augustus's* Wars in Italy, *Antonius's* in Asia, the Discontents between them, and their Reconciliation by the Means of *Octavia*, Sister to the one, and Wife to the other Emperor; as also how joining Forces together to oppress *Sextus*, then lord-ing it over the Sea, and proud with the Conquest of *Sicilia*, they receiv'd him into the Confederacy, and join'd the Island of *Sardinia*, to his other Conquests. To recompence which Kindness, *Sextus* invited the two Generals aboard his Admiral Galley; and after a bountiful Entertainment, return'd them safe to their Camps. I scarce have ever heard so great an Oversight among so many able Politicians. And much I marvel with my self, upon what Confidence *Augustus* and *Antonius* durst so far trust their Persons to a reconcil'd Enemy; or on what Reason *Sextus*, having both of them in his Power, would let slip so slightly that Advantage, greater than which, was never offer'd

to a discontented and ambitious Person. This I am sure of, that he afterward repented it, and could have wish'd that he had hearken'd to the Voice of *Menas*, his old Servant, who had perswaded him to make his best of that Opportunity. The Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, of old Enemies, made new Friends, had the like Interview at *Savona*; which that notable Historiographer and Statesman *Guicciardine* describeth with much Wonder and Commendation; yet in the like Case, have many, and, as I think, worthily condemn'd *Lewis* the 11th, and *Charles* of *Burgundy*, the Arch-Politicians of those Days; in that *Lewis* at *Perrone*, put himself into the Hands of *Charles* his Enemy; who also, after a short Restraint, dismiss'd him.

§ 17. These solemn Expressions of Amity between the three Generals, being thus ended, and *Antonius* gone for *Ægypt*, *Augustus* then began to contrive his Establishment in the State, tho' with the Ruin of his Collegues. He beginneth first with *Sextus*; having by Gifts and Promises drawn *Menas* unto his Side, who, by Reason of his Inwardness with his Master, knew most of his Designs. By the Directions of this *Menas*, and the Assistance of *Lepidus*, he quickly overthrew *Sextus*; who flying Death in *Europe*, by the Hand of *Augustus*, found it in *Asia*, by the Command of *Antonius*. After this Victory, *Augustus* either having or pretending a Quarrel against *Lepidus*, entereth into his Camp, seizeth his Person, and depriving him of all Honours, confineth him to *Rome*. A Man that, half against his Will, stumbling upon the Government, had, beyond any Desert of his, enjoy'd ten Years Continuance of Empire and Prosperity.

§ 18. *Augustus* durst not have been so venturous, if *Antonius* had been in *Italy*. He therefore advisedly remov'd him out of his Way, before he would attempt this Action. It hath been ever a chief

Maxim

Maxim in Court-Policy, to remove that Man out of the Way, under Pretence of some honourable Charge, whom we intend either to cast from his present Honours, or else to make less potent with Prince and People. For which Cause, did *Augustus* also perswade *Antonius's* Absence from the City, to bring him at last into Discredit and Contempt. His Dotage on *Cleopatra*, could not but draw him into many Inconveniences. Neither could his neglecting the State, to Riot with his Lemman, or Whore, be other than distastful to the Lords and People. Next, he commanded his Sister *Octavia*, to leave her Husband *Ant. nius's* House, yet privately he perswaded her to live there still, and bring up his Children; that so the *Romans* seeing her noble Demeanor and Love to her Husband, might the more heartily detest him, who so ignobly and unkindly rejected her. To add more Fuel to this Flame of Hatred, he readeth *Antonius's* Will to the People; in which many of the *Roman* Provinces were bequeath'd to *Cleopatra's* Children; and other Things ordain'd to the common Prejudice. *Antonius* likewise preferr'd many Bills against *Augustus*, as that he had depos'd *Lepidus* from the *Triumvirate*; that he had divided *Italy* amongst his own Soldiers only; that he had not restor'd the Ships borrow'd to make War against *Sextus*.

§ 19. Those Discontents, seconded with an ambitious Hope of prevailing, made them both resolute to refer all to the Decision of a Battel. *Antonius* had a Fleet consisting of 500 Ships, high built, and trimm'd up rather for a Triumph, than a Fight. His Land-Forces consisted of 100000 Foot, and 12000 Horse. *Augustus* had the like Number of Horse-men, 80000 Foot, and 250 good Men of War, snug and close, built more for Use, than Ostentation. The Rendezvous is *Actium*, a Place seeming to be mark'd out for notable Designs: Here being fought also, in our

Fathers

Fathers Days, that famous Battel, wherein the *Venetians* gave the World to understand, that the *Turks* Forces by Sea were not invincible. *Antonius* was on the offensive Side, and therefore much doubted whether it were better to give the Onset by Sea or by Land. *Cleopatra*, whole Words were Oracles, perswaded him to the Sea-Fight; not that she thought it more safe, but that if *Antonius* lost the Day, she might with more Facility escape:

§ 20. To this Resolution, when most of the Captains had for Fear agreed, one of the old Soldiers thus bluntly gainsaid it: ‘ What a miserable
 ‘ Security art thou possess’d withal, most noble Emperor? Where is that ancient Foresight, where-
 ‘ with thou hast formerly prevented all Disasters,
 ‘ and turn’d the Enemies Devices on their own
 ‘ Heads? Consider with thy self, noble General,
 ‘ what uncertain Friends the Wind and Sun are?
 ‘ To how fickle an Element thou dost trust thy Fortune? Let the *Aegyptians* and *Phanicians*, old Mer-
 ‘ maids, born and nurs’d up in the Sea, follow this
 ‘ Kind of Warfare: But let us, thy true Roman Spirits, try our Valour on the firm Land; and there
 ‘ fight for thy Empire, and our own Lives. Perhaps thou dost mistrust our Faith. Look here,
 ‘ *Antonius*, [with that he open’d his Bosom] and
 ‘ thou shalt see many an honourable Scar got in thy
 ‘ Service. We are now too old to learn new Treasons; alter thy Resolution, and to please a Woman,
 ‘ cast not away so many. Certainly the Powers of Heaven, when they decree a Man’s Destruction, overthrow those Councils by which he should escape it. *Antonius* turneth the deaf Ear to this Soldier’s wholsome Advice, and borrowing from *Cleopatra* two or three Kisses, as if from the Fountain of her Lips he had deriv’d all his Courage, without any more Ceremony, prepareth himself unto the Battel.

§ 21. *Augustus*, on the other Side, seeing a Necessity of a Sea-Fight, was yet in this comforted, that his Vessels were more useful, and better mann'd, though fewer than his Enemies: That his Men to him were faithful, and by Reason of their many Victories, in good Heart. But from *Antonius* there daily revolted some Kings and Captains of note, to the great Encouragement of the one Side, and disheartening of the other. The whole Charge of the War he committed to *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, who failing in no Duty of a good Captain, took from his Gallies whatsoever might be Impediments to the Valiant, or Shelter to the Cowardly; all that was combersome to his own Men, or advantageous to the Enemy.

§ 22. Things thus order'd, and the Battel ready to join, *Augustus Caesar* standing where he might see, and be seen of all, is said to make this or the like Oration: ' Fellows and Companions in Arms, I suppose it needless to hearten you, which never were acquainted with Fear; or bid you overcome, which never yet knew what it was not to vanquish. Conquest hath always set upon the Edges of your Swords, and Victory been written in your Foreheads. Be not now backward to add this one to your other Triumphs. When after the Death of my Father *Julius*, of famous Memory, I first dealt in Matters of War, I rather found, than made you good Soldiers. And during this twelve Years Service under me, neither have you been wanting in the Duty of faithful Followers, nor I, I hope, of a vigilant and grateful Leader. Sure I am, I express'd my self as far as I could, and more I would, had I been able. Let not the Number, nor the Greatness of the adverse Gallies, any Way fright you: The Hugeness of the Bulks, maketh them unapt for Employment; and the Multitude, over-clogging and hindering the others;

'thers, may as much farther our Victory, as theirs.
 'They exceed us in Multitudes of Men; we them
 'in Number of Soldiers. The Meaning of the
 'Word Pilot, is unknown among them: And for
 'their Mariners, the best of them are but Carters,
 'Reapers, and Harvest-men, rak'd out of the Field;
 'the rest the Excrement of common Prisons, where-
 'with their Vessels are loaded, not mann'd. The
 'General is indeed a fit Captain for such a select-
 'ed Company; it is the same *Antonius* whom you
 'once drove out of the Field before *Mutina*. I per-
 'swade my self, that neither he dares think of re-
 'covering, or you of losing, your former Glories. It
 'is the same *Antonius*, who being shamefully chas'd
 'out of *Parthia*, only that he was not vanquish'd,
 'proclaim'd himself Victor. It is the same *Antonius*
 'who intendeth to make *Rome* subject to the *Egyp-*
 'tians, and to distribute the Provinces purchas'd
 'with the Blood and Treasure of our Ancestors,
 'amongst *Iras* and her Fellow Chamber-maids.
 'Nay, indeed, it is not *Antonius* at all, but the Sha-
 'dow only of that Substance which now is hid in
 'Cleopatra's Cabbin. Courage then, brave Men of
 'Arms, be as you have still been, Conquerors.
 'To speak more, were to detain you from Victory.
 'Only this, call to Mind your ancient Valour. Re-
 'member that I am *Caesar*, you *Romans*.

§ 23. This Speech animated the new Soldiers,
 and confirm'd the old; so that with a general Accla-
 mation, they give the Assault; Death, Wounds,
 and Blows, dish'd in divers Fashions, and serv'd in
 by several Men, were the best Delicacies prepar'd
 for these unwelcome Visitants. *Cleopatra* beholding
 the Battel, and doubting the Success, through the
 thickest of *Antonius's* Fleet, made away with sixty
 Gallies appointed for her Guard. This Disorder
 made the Breach at which the Victory enter'd. *An-*
tonius seeing her Flight, left his Squadron also;

and being taken into her Galley, hoisted Sail for *Ægypt*: Herein playing the Part of a cowardly Soldier, whilst each of his Soldiers executed the Office of a couragious General; for they so obstinately persisted in the Fight, that *Augustus* was fain to offer them Mercy sooner than they would demand it, and divers Times, before they would accept it. At last they all swear Allegiance unto him. (*An. V. C. 723.*)

§ 24. *Augustus*, no Loser of Advantages, speedeth into *Ægypt*, which he reduceth into the Form of a Province, making the People pay for Fine, twenty Millions of Gold. By receiving this Money, he so weaken'd them, that they had no Ability to raise any after War; and by distributing Part of it among his Soldiers, he confirm'd them in Obedience. As for *Antonius*, he seeing his Fortune desperate, redeem'd the Honours lost in his Life, by a noble and heroick Death. And *Cleopatra* ended her Life also not long after; a Woman more well-favour'd than fair; well-spoken, rather than either. *Antonius's* Courtiers had seen many Ladies more lovely, none more prevailing; Men being chain'd to her by the Ears, rather than the Eyes.

§ 25. I willingly omit *Augustus's* Entry into *Rome*, as also the State and Magnificence of his Triumph. His Victory he us'd so justly, that none felt the Fury of the War, but such as were slain in the Battel. To assure himself of *Antonius's* Adherents, was his first Care, burning in the common *Forum*, the Coffers of *Antonius*, unopen'd, wherein all his Letters from his Friends in *Rome*, had been inclos'd; well knowing, that as long as any thought themselves suspected Adversaries, they would never shew themselves true Friends. To the Senators and Magistrates, he made sumptuous Feasts: To the common People, he exhibited magnificent and pleasing Stage-Plays; and with all Variety of Pleasure

sure

sure banish'd from both, as well Sorrow for the old
 Proscription, as Fear of a new.

§ 26. There were two Men most dear unto him,
 and privy to his Counsels, *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*;
 which, in the Object of their Love, differ'd only in
 this, *Mecenas* was a Lover of *Augustus*, *Agrippa* of
 the Emperor; *Mecenas* was of the Rank of Knights,
 a Man of good and bad Parts equally compounded:
 When his Business requir'd Care, vigilant and cir-
 cumspect; at leisure Times, excessively virtuous.
Agrippa was the first of his House, a Man alike fit
 for Camp and Council; one neither careless of a good
 Name, nor covetous of a great; for although he
 only was the Man who vanquish'd *Sextus* and *An-*
tonius, yet well skill'd in the Humours of Princes,
 he gave *Augustus* the Honour of all his Conquests,
 making the Virtue, not the Reward, the End of
 his Actions: So by doing nobly, and speaking mo-
 destly of it, he was without Envy, but not without
 Glory.

§ 27. With these two, *Augustus* withdrew into a
 private Closet, and then brake unto them in this
 Sort. He made first unto them a long Discourse of
 the Civil Wars, then added, ' That having by his
 ' own Fortune, and the Valour of his Soldiers, put
 ' an End to the Troubles, he was unresolv'd what
 ' to do, whether to resign the Empire to the Peo-
 ' ple, or retain it still in his own Hands: That in a
 ' Business of such Importance, he durst not rely al-
 ' together on his own Wisdom: That he had made
 ' them his Judges, as Men that could speak soundly,
 ' and durst speak freely; That he knew 'em to have
 ' more Care of his Honour, than Profit; but of the
 ' Commonwealth, more than both: That his Coun-
 ' sels, which Course soever he took, would not be by
 ' them eliminated. He therefore intreated them to
 ' consider what was to be done, and to give up
 ' their Verdicts.

§ 28. *Agrippa*, after a short Silence, thus began:
 ' I know thou canst not but marvel, O *Cæsar*, that
 ' I, who under thine Empire, am sure to be beyond
 ' Precedent exalted, should perswade thee to live
 ' private: I esteem more thy Honour, than my
 ' Profit; the publick Good, than my particular Pre-
 ' ferment; and yet perhaps my Counsel shall be
 ' as profitable, if not applausible, as the contrary. I
 ' know thee to be no way delighted with Lies and
 ' Flattery, and will therefore deal with thee freely
 ' and plainly. Thou hast indeed put a Period to
 ' the Civil Wars; but to what End, unless thou dost
 ' restore unto the Commonwealth the Liberty for
 ' which the Wars were rais'd? What Benefit can
 ' People reap from thy Victory, if thou dost use it
 ' only as an Instrument for their greater Bondage?
 ' Dost thou think that the *Romans*, having so many
 ' hundred Years maintain'd their Liberty, will
 ' now be willing to forego it? No *Cæsar*, no. Flat-
 ' ter not thy self with these Hopes. *Marius* the young-
 ' er, and *Sertorius*, were quickly cut off, when their
 ' Ends were once known; and *Julius*, thy Father, of
 ' happy Memory, did not long live after his Ac-
 ' tions seem'd to bring the common Liberty in Ha-
 ' zard. And shall we think, that there is no true
 ' *Roman* Spirit surviving; no *Brutus* living, to at-
 ' tempt the like against thee? Believe me, *Cæsar*,
 ' believe me, it is far better not to meddle with the
 ' Empire at all, than to be forc'd to abandon it. But
 ' say, Divine Providence will so protect thee, that
 ' thou mayst out-live such Practices, and shalt thou
 ' also not out-live thy Glories? This present
 ' Age perchance will not censure their Actions, be-
 ' cause it dares not; but Posterity, free from all Re-
 ' spects of Love or Hatred, cannot but call them
 ' into question, and brand thy Enterprize with
 ' Ambition, and perhaps Tyranny. If thy Designs
 ' prosper, they will judge thee to have risen unjust-
 ' ly; if otherwise, to have fallen deservedly. How

' much better then were it now, when thine Ho-
 ' nour is without Blemish, and thy Reputation un-
 ' stain'd, to resign thy Authority? Indeed, when
 ' *Sextus* lorded it over the Sea, and *Antonius* over
 ' *Ægypt*, it might have been thought want of Spi-
 ' rit, to have depos'd thy self from the Govern-
 ' ment: But now to do it, when thou art without
 ' Rival in thy Empire; now, when thou art sole
 ' Commander of the World's Forces; now, when the
 ' People and Senate lie prostrate at the Feet of thy
 ' Mercy, were to strike dumb Detraction, and to
 ' make the World admire thy Temper. Thou art
 ' at this present, the Joy and Comfort of the World;
 ' there is wanting to thee neither Wealth nor
 ' Fame. Here then fix thy Foot; for go but one
 ' Step beyond this *Non ultra*, and thou wilt run
 ' into a boundless Ocean of Perils, which have
 ' no End, but the End of thy Life and Reputation.

§ 29. ' Not so, excellent *Agrippa*, reply'd *Mece-*
 ' *nas*; I never heard a good Pilot find Fault with Sea-
 ' room, or of more Vessels cast away in the Ocean,
 ' than in the Streights and narrow Passages. Our Re-
 ' publick is a Ship, fraught with divers Nations: She
 ' hath been long tofs'd on the Waves of Civil Dissen-
 ' tions; long driven up and down with the Wind of
 ' Ambition; and there is now no Place so fit for her
 ' Safety, as the unlimited Ocean of one Man's Power.
 ' This Empire, at first rising, seem'd not to require
 ' a Monarch; but it is now grown too unweildy
 ' to be without one. Take then upon thee, O *Cæ-*
 ' *sar*, this Empire; or to say better, do not forsake
 ' it. I should never thus advise thee, did I con-
 ' ceive any possible Inconveniences: The Senate
 ' doth allow thee a competent Guard of valiant
 ' and faithful Soldiers; whom then shouldst thou
 ' fear? Nay, ill may I prosper, if I see any Cause of
 ' Fear, were thy Guard cashier'd. Enemies thou hast
 ' none; for such as were, are either already slain
 by

' by thy Valour, or made fast Friends by thy Boun-
 ' ty and Clemency. To omit *Marius* and *Sertorius*,
 ' I will a little touch at thy Father *Julius*: He, too
 ' good a Soldier to be a Statist, was too heady and
 ' violent in establishing his Government; nor could
 ' he cunningly temporize, and suffer the People in-
 ' sensibly, and by Degrees, to drop into Bondage;
 ' but oppress'd them all at once. Again, he com-
 ' mitted a great Solecism in State, when dischar-
 ' ging his Guard, he sought to retain that Empire
 ' by fair Means, which he had gotten by Vio-
 ' lence. I know thee, *O Caesar*, to be of a more wary
 ' and cunning Behaviour. Learn also to work out
 ' thine own Safety, by *Pompey's* Misfortunes. He,
 ' after the finishing of the *Pontick* War, at *Brandusi-*
 ' *um*, disbanded his Army, and thereby merited to be
 ' accounted an honest and moderate Man. Certainly
 ' he shew'd himself, in the Course of this Action,
 ' rather virtuous, than fortunate and politick; for
 ' presently he began to be contemn'd; and by this
 ' unprovident weakening of himself, made an open
 ' Passage to his own Ruin. I commend his Mode-
 ' sty, more than his Brain; neither did he himself;
 ' on better Considerations, approve his own Doings;
 ' and therefore he resolv'd, had he been Victor in
 ' *Pharsalia*, never to have committed the like O-
 ' versight. So is it, and so will it fall out with thee,
 ' *O Caesar*, if in this Action thou propose him to be
 ' thy Pattern. It is not safe, *Agrippa* saith, to take
 ' the Empire; less safe is it to refuse it. A settled
 ' and innate Vice it is in Man, never to endure
 ' that any Man above our own Rank, should over-
 ' top us. *Rome's* second Founder, *Camillus*, *Scipio*,
 ' that Scourge of *Carthage*, were disgrac'd, and *M.*
 ' *Coriolanus* banish'd by our Ancestors, only because
 ' their Worth had lifted them above the ordinary
 ' Pitch of Subjects. Do not thou hope to fare bet-
 ' ter than thy Predecessors. Heretofore perchance
 ' thou

' thou mightst have fought the Empire, to satisfy thy Ambition: The Empire must now be thy
 ' Refuge and *Asylum*. Credit me, the Lords of the
 ' Senate, after so many Years Obedience, know
 ' not how to govern; neither canst thou, having
 ' so long been a Governor, learn Obedience. Truth
 ' is, in Matters of domestical Business, a Man
 ' may stop and desist where he will; but in the
 ' getting of an Empire, there is no Mean between
 ' the Death of an Enemy, and the Life of a Prince.
 ' Thou hast already gone too far, to retire; now
 ' thou must resolve to be *Cæsar*, or nothing. To
 ' say more, were superfluous; thine own Discretion
 ' will suggest unto thee better Arguments. Only
 ' this I know, that thou hast in thee too much
 ' *Julius*, not to govern.

§ 30. *Augustus* seem'd to incline to this latter
 Opinion; whether mov'd with *Mecenas's* Oration,
 especially his Instance in *Pompey*, or that he was
 before resolv'd to follow that Course, is uncertain:
 Howsoever, seeming with great Attention to observe
 their Speeches, and gathering their several Reasons
 and Motives together, he made this Reply.
 ' A most hard Thing it is for a divided Mind to
 ' make a well-join'd Answer. Divided I am, and
 ' troubled between your two Opinions; loath to
 ' follow either, since in so doing I must offend one.
 ' Yet, since there is a Necessity of Resolution, I intend,
 ' tho' I like well of thine Advice, *Agrippa*,
 ' to follow thine, *Mecenas*. In doing which, I am
 ' but an Instrument of the Destinies, to put their
 ' Will in Execution. Often have I heard my Father
 ' *Octavius* report how *Nigidius*, famous for his
 ' Skill in justiciary Astrology, told him once in
 ' open Senate, that he had gotten an Emperor for
 ' the *Romans*: As also how *M. Cicero*, so renown'd
 ' for Wit and Eloquence, dream'd that he saw *Jupiter*
 ' place me on the Top of the Capitol, with

‘ a Whip in my Hand. Certainly, if the Powers
 ‘ of Heaven promise me so great an Empire, I
 ‘ will not be wanting to my self; but will add by
 ‘ my Wisdom to their Influence. To farther my
 ‘ Designs, I do desire you, nay, I conjure you
 ‘ both, that as you have been ever ready in your
 ‘ Councils, so you would not now be backward in
 ‘ any necessary Assistance. This said, they pre-
 ‘ sently enter into a new Conference, how to ma-
 ‘ nage a Business of this Weight; what Senators to
 ‘ acquaint with their Intent; how to dispose of the
 ‘ Army, not yet cashier’d; with what Plummets
 ‘ were best to found the Minds of the common
 ‘ People.

§ 31. This Consultation ended, *Augustus* conti-
 ‘ nu’d his Affability to the People, and Respect to
 ‘ the Nobles; an Opportunity he had to express him-
 ‘ self to both. There was at that Time a Famine,
 ‘ which shrewdly rag’d among the Commons. To
 ‘ the poorer Sort, he distributed Corn *gratis*; to o-
 ‘ thers, at a mean Price. Riches and Honours he
 ‘ communicated to both Sorts, the better to wipe
 ‘ out of their Memories the ancient Freedom. Such
 ‘ Parts of the City as were destroy’d by Casualty
 ‘ of Fire, ruin’d by Length of Time, or defac’d du-
 ‘ ring the civil Wars, he re-edify’d. Houses of com-
 ‘ mon Assemblies he repair’d; Temples consecrated
 ‘ to the Gods, he spar’d no Cost to adorn and beau-
 ‘ tify. And finally, so freely diffus’d his Bounty,
 ‘ that there was no Part or Member of the City,
 ‘ which had not some Taste of it. Next, he dis-
 ‘ miss’d his Soldiers, assigning them Lands and Ha-
 ‘ bitations in divers Parts of *Italy*, that so the Lords
 ‘ of the State might conceive his Resignation to be
 ‘ real; and yet, if Need were, his Forces might be
 ‘ quickly reassembled. Nor were *Agrippa* and *Mece-
 ‘ nas* wanting, for their Parts, to promote the Cause;
 ‘ but carefully acquainted some of the Senate with

it,

it, who stood well affected to them, and cunningly prepar'd others.

§ 32. The Foundation thus laid, and the Senate sate, *Augustus* rose from his Seat, and spake to this or the like Effect. ' When I consider with
' my self the infinite Extent of the *Roman* Em-
' pire, I protest I stand at a Maze, marvelling
' how such, as heretofore have rais'd Combustions
' in State, durst undertake the sole Administration
' of it. What Nation in the World hath not
' either begg'd their Peace at our Gates, or felt
' the Fury of our Wars at their own? What Coun-
' tries have we not hurry'd with Fire and Sword,
' making the rising and setting of the Sun the Bounds
' of our Dominions? It must questionless proceed
' from an over-weaning Conceit in them of their
' own Abilities, who thought themselves so fit to
' undergo that Burden, which none but the im-
' mortal Gods can carry. Of my self I will not
' say much; only I am not inferior to *Cinna*, nor
' it may be, to *Sylla*; yet have I found in my self
' by late Experience, how unable I was to manage
' the Affairs of State, even then when I had two
' Coadjutors. There is no *Atlas* of Strength suffi-
' cient to bear up this Heaven; no Star of Influ-
' ence sufficient to animate this Sphere; no one
' Form of Virtue sufficient to actuate this Matter.
' Neither indeed is it fit, that the Republick, which
' ought to be immortal, should depend only on the
' Life and Welfare of one Man. There never was
' since the Beginning of Time, a City replenish'd
' with greater Store of worthy and able Men, ei-
' ther to consult or execute; never was there seen
' so grave and discreet a Consistory; never so ma-
' ny of both Sorts so fit to govern. I have, by
' your Directions, and the Valour of your Soldiers,
' put an End to all home-bred Quarrels; I have
' been your Instrument to reduce Peace internal

and external to your City, and desire now no other Guerdon, or Recompence, for any former Services, than a quiet and a private Life, free from all such Dangers and Inconveniencies as are inseparably annex'd to the Principality. Now therefore, and may my Action be auspicious and fortunate to my Country, do I resign my Authority, committing my self, and the Commonwealth, into the Hands of the Senate and People of *Rome*.

§ 33. This Oration ended, there follow'd a soft and silent Buzzing in the House. Some suppos'd this Speech not to have so much Truth, as Art and Cunning, yet smother'd their Conceits, for fear of After-Claps. Others were Creatures of his own making; and they hoping to rise in the Fall of their Country, would not hear of a Resignation. Some few of the wiser Sort, thought it not expedient to put the Reins again into the Hands of the Multitude; the rest, out of a sluggish and phlegmatick Constitution, chose rather the present Estate with Security, than to strive to recover the old with Danger. All therefore, with a joint Consent, proclaim him sole Emperor, and solemnly intreat him to save the Commonwealth, otherwise running to inevitable Ruin. He for a while as vainly deny'd to accept the Government, as they vainly persisted to desire him. At last, weary'd with the Clamours of all in general, and Importance of some in Particular, he, by little and little, yielded to their Requests, taking upon him the Empire for ten Years, with this Proviso, that if before that Time expir'd, he could fully settle and order the present State, he would give up his Charge. (*An. V. C. 725.*) This he gave out, not with a Purpose of Performance, (for at the End of every *Decennium* he renew'd his Lease of the Regiment) but that the People, seeing a high Possibility

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bility of regaining their Liberties, might not practice against him: Whereas, had he for Term of Life receiv'd the supream Authority, he had, no doubt, hasten'd his own Overthrow.

§ 34. Not the Title of Dictator, but the Epithet *Perpetual*, was the Destruction of *Cæsar*; yet also great Respect was to be had in the Choice of the Title. The Name of King he refus'd, as being odious to the Citizens; neither would he be call'd *Romulus*, tho' he much desir'd it, lest they should suppose that he did affect the Tyranny. When the People call'd him Dictator, he rent his Garments, desiring them to discharge him of a Name so hated; and being once call'd Lord, (*Dominus*) he forbad also that Title by publick Edict. *Princeps Senatus* was the only Title he admitted, well knowing, that the like glorious Attributes were heap'd on his Father *Julius*, by them which least lov'd him; only to this End, that growing more and more into Hatred, he might the sooner be dispatch'd. Nor was he ignorant, that the common People, led more by Appearances than Truth, discern'd Names more plainly than Executions; and that the only Course to make Greatness stand firmly, was to receive extraordinary Jurisdiction, under a Title not offensive. The Name also of *Augustus*, put upon him by the Senate, as if there had been something in him more than mortal, he deny'd not, as a Title expressing more Dignity and Reverence, than Authority.

§ 35. When first at the Hands of the Lords of the Senate, he had for ten Years receiv'd the Government, there was appointed unto him two Cohorts of *Prætorian* Soldiers, for the Guard of his Person; to whom the Senate allow'd the double Wages of a Legionary Soldier, to make them the more vigilant and heedful in their Charge. Over these, he appointed two Prefects, or Governors,

(Captains of the Guard we may best term them.) To commit the Charge to one only, might breed Danger; to more, Confusion. *Agrippina*, to settle *Nero* in the Empire, prevail'd with *Claudius* to make *Burrus*, whom she had at her Devotions, the sole Captain; and *Nimphidius*, fallen from his Hopes of setting *Galba* besides the Cuslion, desir'd the Command of the Guard, as the next Step to the Sovereignty. In Choice of these Captains, he observ'd two Rules: First, he ever chose them *ex ordine Equestri*, not *Senatorio*, lest that so high a Dignity, join'd to so high a Birth, might startle their Resolutions to some Designs against his Quiet. Secondly, he made Choice of two such which were of contrary Humours, and somewhat at odds, that so the ill Intents of one, (if they should harbour any) might be thwarted and reveal'd by the other; and both, in a noble Emulation, should contend to be most forward in his Service. The next Course which he took for his own Security, was a Law he made to curb the very Wills and Attempts of the Great Ones: For whereas it had been formerly unlawful to question a Bond-man, in Matters concerning the Life and Death of his Lord, *Augustus* pass'd an Act, That all such Bond-men should be first sold to him, or the Commonwealth. By Means whereof he kept the Lords, before presuming on the Secrecy of their Slaves, from all close and private Conspiracies against him.

§ 26. Having thus strengthen'd his Person, he assum'd to himself the Imperial, Censorial, and Tribunitian Authority, together with the Sacerdotal Dignity. As Emperor and General of the Men of War, he could press Soldiers, raise Taxes, proclaim Wars, make Peace, yea, and put to Death the very best and stoutest of the Senators: As Censor, it was in his Power to reform corrupt Manners, enquire after Mens Carriage, to take in and

put

put out of the Senate whom he list'd, to place and displace the People from an honourable Tribe to a less honourable; yet would he not be call'd Censor, as a Name too inferior, but accepted the Prerogative. After the Surrendry of *Manutius* and his Associate, (two Men so unfit for that Magistracy, that they could object no Crime to Old or Young, of which themselves were not guilty) the Tribunitian Authority enabled him to hinder any Thing attempted against his Liking: It preserv'd his Person from all Contumely and Injury, giving him Leave to punish as an execrable Person, yea, and without any Formality of Law, whosoever had offended him either in Word or Deed. As for the Pontifical Dignity, it made him a little more reverenc'd, not more potent; only it added to his Title the Stile of *Pontifex Maximus*, or Chief Bishop, and made him of Authority amongst the Priests, and in sacred Matters, Things that concern'd Religion. The Light of Reason taught him, that it was convenient for him, being a Prince, to have Command on all his People; he had been else but half a Monarch: Such as some Princes are with us, who quit their Clergy, to be govern'd by a foreign Head. These several Prerogatives annex'd together, seem'd not yet sufficient; and therefore he so cunningly dealt with the Senators, that they gave him a general Exemption from the coactive Power of the Law; which once effected, he seriously and totally bendeth his Studies to settle the Commonwealth.

§ 37. To what Republick he should conform the *Roman*, was his next Care. The Form describ'd by *Plato*, rather sheweth how a City ought to be, than how it may be govern'd. *Aristotle*, bred in the free State of *Greece*, was no Friend to Monarchies, and therefore no fit Instructor. *Solon* afforded the People too much Authority, the Nobles too

too little, the King none. The old *Carthaginian* Legislator attributed too much to Riches, too little to Virtue. The *Persian* Law-makers allotted to the King too much, and nothing to the Subjects. *Zaleuchus* was rather an Author of some particular Laws, than the Framer of a Republick. *Phalaus* and *Hippodamus* were as inimitable as *Plato*. *Lacedamon* only, and her *Lycurgus*, were found fittest for his Purpose: For *Lycurgus*, a Man of a deep Reach, and brought up under the most able Politicians of all *Crete*, well understanding that the unmix'd Form of Rule was mutable, and by Consequence pernicious, fram'd his *Spartan* Commonwealth out of the Perfections of the three good Forms, their Imperfections rejected; reserving to the King, absolute Majesty; to the Nobles, convenient Authority; to the People, entire Liberty, all in a just and equal Proportion. *Augustus*, as he neglected the peculiar Customs of that State, Community of Women, Equality of Possessions, and the like; so in the main Platform, he was a diligent Follower of his Constitutions; so mixing the Sovereignty of one with the Liberty of all, that both the Lords and People, without Fear of Bondage or Sedition, enjoy'd their hereditary Freedom. The Consuls and Nobles of the City assembled as formerly they us'd; Matters of State they handled by themselves; Ambassadors of foreign Nations they heard and dispatch'd. The Commons assembled in the *Comitia*, to enact Laws, and elect Magistrates, as in the free Commonwealth; yet so that nothing was done without the Consent and Privy of the Prince, who, for the most Part, nominated the successive Magistrate, leaving the Confirmation of him to that People; so that the Change, as he contriv'd it, was not violent and at once, but by Degrees, and by the silent Approbation of both the

the Estates, as seeming to consist more in the Alteration of the Magistrate, than of the Laws.

§ 28. But to proceed particularly: The first Care he took, was to confirm Religion in the same State he found it. I mean Religion as the Romans us'd the Word, for those particular though idolatrous Forms of Worship, which to their several Gods had been us'd among them. This, tho' he might have chang'd, as the *Pontifex Maximus*, or Chief Bishop of the City, yet very wisely he forbore it. It is not safe for Princes that are settled in a long Descent of Government, to be too active in such Changes; but it is dangerous to attempt it in a green State, and in an Empire not well quieted, and inur'd to Bondage. Men are more sensible of the smallest Mutations in the Church, than greater Changes in the State, and raise more frequent Troubles about it. The Romans especially were exceeding tender in this Point. The ancient *Patres* formerly receiv'd it into their Charge, that they permitted no external, either Gods or Ceremonies, to be introduc'd into the City. And by *Amilius* it was enacted for a Law, That none should offer Sacrifice in any publick Place, after a new and foreign Fashion. Excellent therefore was the Council that *Mercenas* gave him, when he first undertook the Empire. That he should follow constantly the Religion which he found established, and compel others also to do the like; for foreign and strange Rites (saith he) will offend the People, work many inconvenient Alterations in the State, yea, and most likely will occasion both many Seditions and Conspiracies. Words which he spake not to the Air, but to a Prince exceeding apprehensive of the best Advice; nor did *Augustus* ever shew himself more careful in any one Area of the Empire, than in this. That which *Mercenas* noted, we find true in these latter Ages, in Times

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more skilful of Obedience, than the most quiet Hours of *Augustus's* Government. No one Thing more hath caus'd so frequent and so general Rebellions in the States of *Christendom*, than Alterations of this Nature; I cannot therefore but commend it, as a pious Resolution in a late mighty Monarch. Better some few Corruptions should be suffer'd in a Church, than that a Change.

§ 39. Religion thus establish'd, in the next Place, the Welfare of the whole Empire consist'd chiefly in reforming of the City; from which, as from the Heart, Life was convey'd to all the Provinces; and in the City the Corruption was most apparent in the Senate. With them therefore he beginneth, well knowing, that Crimes in Men of eminent Place, end not in themselves; but by Degrees become diffus'd among their Clients and Followers. Now in the Senate were many and desertless Men, who had been taken into the Consistory during the Civil Wars, as they could court the People, and humour such as were most potent. Of these he expell'd none by his own Power; but making a Speech to 'em in the Senate, of the ancient Order and present Confusion of the House, he first exhorted 'em to look back on their former Lives, and to judge of their own Abilities and Merits for so honourable a Room. Then he desir'd some of them, to pick out such among them, as were in Dispositions factious, and in Life faulty, but loath to conceive so ill of their own Actions; which they did accordingly. Yet, as it often happeneth, that the great *Theif* leadeth all the rest to the Gallies; and as *Cominus* observeth, that after the Batel of *Mouthalleny*, Offices were taken from many for flying away, and conferr'd on such as ran ten Miles beyond them; so remain'd many in the Senate, neither less vicious or less violent, only more potent to maintain their Doings, than some others whom they had remov'd. *Augustus* therefore joining to him

Agrippa, proceedeth to a new Review: And certainly it much concern'd him in the settling of his Affairs, that none should have a Voice in that famous Council, but such as were of able Judgments, honest Repute, and well affected to the Prince. An Enterprize which he esteem'd so dangerous, that he permitted Entrance to no Senator, till he were search'd; himself wearing a Brigandine under his Gown, and being environ'd with ten of the most couragious and best belov'd of the whole Company. Such as he found in either Kind inexcusable, he discharg'd from their Attendance, electing such in their Places, which were either ennobled for their Wisdom, of noted Moderation, and strong in their Dependants: Yet so, that Greatness of Revenue was esteem'd neither a fit Patronage for any, if they were offensive, nor a just Cause to challenge Interest in the House. Those of them which were rich, rather in the Gifts of the Mind, than Fortune; he reliev'd with honourable Pensions: And finally, he bestir'd himself so resolutely, that all confess'd, that they had Need of such a wise Physician, to cure that dull Consumption the Commonwealth was fallen into.

§ 40. In other Things, he seldom did proceed against them, as of himself; but when any of them had conspir'd his Ruin, he referr'd them to the Judgment of their Fellows: And this he did partly to reserve unto the Court, the ancient Prerogative, partly not to be Judge and Party in his own Cause; but principally following the Example of his Father *Julius*; who, counterfeiting a wretchless Contempt of his Adversaries, us'd when he was least suspected, under-hand, and by publick Officers, to work their Destruction. Many also of them, whom the Senate had condemn'd, he would freely Pardon, conceiving truly, that the questioning of Men of high Calling, would produce as much Terror, tho' it argu'd not so much Rigor, as the Punishment. Yet, if Extremity

of Law was us'd towards some few, it was to settle Quietness in the Whole, and as it were a particular Blood-letting for the general Health. Those who had follow'd the Factions of *Brutus* and *Antoni-*
us, he forgave freely: And not so only, but by manifesting his Words by his Deeds, and adding Trust and Honour to his Pardons, he made his Chair of State more settled and immoveable. So *Cesar*, by erecting the fallen and broken Images of *Pompey*, made his own Statues stand more firmly.

§ 41. But the chief Act by which he bridled the Nobles, was an Edict by him promulgated, forbidding any of them, his Leave not granted, to travel out of Italy. For well he knew that in an Empire unsettled, and Provinces not quieted, the Presence and Authority of Men of that Rank, might raise greater Troubles, than could be easily suppress'd. Examples he wanted not; that especially of *Cato*, who, after the Overthrow of *Pompey*, stirr'd such a War against *Cesar* in *Africk*, that he never bought Victory at a dearer Rate. Yet, not altogether to imprison them, he licens'd them at their Pleasure to visit *Sicilia* and *Gaul Narbonois*, Provinces close to the Continent of *Italy*, altogether unfurnish'd for Wars, and indeed such as, by Reason of the Variety of Pleasures in them us'd, were more likely to weaken their Minds, than to arm their Bodies.

§ 42. Now, to give the Senate some sweet Meat to their sour Sauce, he as much honour'd and reverenc'd the Order, as ever it was in the free State; submitting himself to their Judgments, and appearing of his own Accord at most of their Days of Session. Out of those, he chose fifteen, alterable every half Year, to be of his Privy Council, but then changing them for others, that so all of them might participate of that Honour, and yet none of them be acquainted with too many of his Secrets. At his Entrance into the Senate, he us'd courteously to salute the

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the Lords; and so likewise at his Departure. He knew full well, that it was noted for great Pride in his Father *Julius*, so much to slight the Lords of that House, as he always did; never making to them any Obeisance; no, not then when they came to tell him what Honours were decreed unto him.

§ 43. This Reformation of the great Ones, soon made the lower Sort more careful, both to observe good Order, and to learn Obedience. Yet did not *Augustus* refer all to President, but somewhat to Precept. The Roman Knights he enforced to yield an Account of their Lives; an Ordinance full of Health, Idleness being the Root of all private Vices, and publick Disorders. To the Commons, in their *Comitia* and other Meetings, he prescribeth Laws and Orders as himself listed. The old Authority of the Tribunes, dash'd in the Dictatorship of *Sylla*, he would not restore: He suffer'd them to intercede for the People, but not to prefer or hinder any Bill to the Advancement or Prejudice of the third Estate. Without this Curb, the common Sort would never quietly have suffer'd him to sit fast in the Saddle: For had the People had their Tribunes, and had the Tribunes had their ancient Dignity and Power, which they had usurp'd, there had been little or no Hope of altering the Form of Government. So different are the Ends of the common People, especially if nuzled in a factious Liberty, from the Designs of sovereign Princes.

§ 44. The City thus reform'd in the principal Errors and Defects of it, he again exhibiteth unto them divers Pleasures, as Shews of Fencers, Stage Plays, Combats of wild Beasts, publick Dancings, with Variety of other delightful Spectacles: And this as well to breed in them a good Conceit of the Change, as fearing least their Cogitations, for Want of other Objects, would fix themselves upon

his Actions, and the old Freedom. Horse-races, Tilts, and Tournaments, he gladly cherish'd; but he permitted them only to the Inhabitants of *Rome*; that so that City, being the Seat-Town of his Empire, might be stor'd with good Horses, and expert Riders. Such of the Commons as were behind Hand, he reliev'd; and when any of them had made him Heir to their Goods, he, well knowing that no good Father did appoint to his Heir any Prince, but a Tyrant, presently restor'd to the Children of the Deceas'd, the whole Patrimony: An Action truly worthy of *Augustus*, as true a Guardian of Orphans, as a Father of his Country. Such Princes as gape covetously after other Mens Possessions, seldom enjoy the Benefit of their own. The Treasures of Kings are then greatest, not when their own Coffers are full only, but their Subjects rich.

§ 45. Yet one Thing more he seem'd to leave unto the People, which they thought most pleasing; Liberty of Speech, wherein sometimes they were so licentious, that they spar'd not *Agrippa* himself, so potent with the Emperor. But he, good Man, never using the Prince's Favour to the Prejudice of any, seem'd not to mark their Taunts and Slanders, whether with greater Moderation or Wisdom, I cannot tell. Neither did *Augustus* scape their foolish Pasquils and infamous Libels; all which he wink'd at, knowing that Contumelies of that Nature, slighted and contemn'd, soon vanish of themselves; but if repin'd and storm'd at, they seem to be acknowledged. A Temper which he learn'd of his Father *Julius*, who was perfect at it; and certainly it was a notable Point of Wisdom in both of them. It is the Misery of the best Princes, even when they do well, to be ill spoken of; and therefore many Times such Follies are with more Policy dissembled, than observ'd by the greatest Kings.

§ 46. As for this Lavishness of the Tongue, it is an Humour that springeth, for the most part, rather from a Delight in prating, than any Malice of the Heart; and they which use it, are more troublesome, than dangerous. *Julius* fear'd not the fat Men, but the lean and spare; and so *Augustus* thought, that not Men liberal of Speech, but silent, close, and sparing of their Words, were most likely to raise Tumults. Moreover, as long as the common People retain'd Liberty of Speech, they were the less sensible of the Loss of Liberty in State: Whereas, in the Days of *Domitian*, when not only they were prohibited to commune together, but even their secret Sighs and Tears were register'd, then began they to look, with a serious Eye, back on the old and common Liberty. Neglect is the best Remedy for this talking Vein. When the Humour is spent, the People will cease on their own Accords; 'till then, no Forces can compel them. *Tacitus* taxeth *Vitellius* of great Folly, for hoping by Force to hinder the continual Reports of *Vespasian's* Revolt, that being the only Way to increase, not diminish the Rumour. And as much he extolleth (I will not say how fitly) the Reign of Prince *Nerva*; wherein it was lawful for the Subject to think what he would, and speak what he thought.

§ 47. These Courses, though he took to rectify the Senate, and content the People, yet he stay'd not here. There were too many of both Sorts, dangerous and unquiet Spirits, who stomach'd his Proceedings; and under the Pretence of the ancient Liberty, were apt to any bold Attempt, and sudden Alteration. These, as he wink'd at 'em for the present, so he employ'd them, as Occasion serv'd, in his foreign Wars; wherein he follow'd the Example of his Father *Julius*, who, when his Soldiers had displeas'd him, in their Mutiny and Tumults,

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would lead them presently unto some desperate and dangerous Service; so weakening both his *Fort*, which lay next unto him, and punishing those Soldiers which had disobey'd him. For tho' *Augustus* had thrice shut the Temple of *Janus*, and cherish'd Peace; no Emperor more, of so large a Territory; yet when he saw his Times, and that Mens Minds were active, and their Thoughts disquieted, he could find presently Occasion for some new Employment. In this, a Body politick may be compar'd most fitly, to the Body natural; when we are full of Blood, and our Spirits boiling, there is not any Physick better than Phlebotomy. But if a Vein be broken in us, and we bleed inwardly, our Estate commonly is dangerous, and almost incurable. So Princes, when their People are tumultuous, and apt to Mischief, or that their Thoughts are working, and hearkening after Action, do commonly employ 'em in some Service far from Home, that there they may both vent their Anger, and employ their Courage: For let them stay at Home, to confirm their Practices, and grow at last into Faction, the State will suffer in it, if it be not ruin'd. We cannot have a fairer Instance of this Truth, than the Proceeding of the fifth *Harry*, and of the Times next following; whose foreign Wars kept us all quiet here at Home, wasted those Humours, and consum'd those fiery Spirits, which afterwards, the Wars being ended, inflam'd the Kingdom.

So 48. The Soldiers, some of them he dispers'd, as before I said, all about *Italy*, in 32 Colonies, as well for the Defence of the Country, as for their more speedy Reassembly, if Need should require. Abroad amongst the Provinces were maintain'd, upon the common Charge, 23. Legions with their Aids, besides 10000. of his Guard, and those which were appointed for the Bridling and the Safety of

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the City. As to all of them he shew'd an excellent Thankfulness for their faithful Services; so in particular to *Agrippa*, and to one other, whose Name the Historians of that Age have not remembred. This latter had valiantly behav'd himself at the Battel of *Actium*; and being summon'd to appear before the Lords of the Senate, in a Matter which concern'd his Life, cry'd to *Augustus* for Succour, who assign'd him an Advocate. The poor Fellow, not contented with this Favour, baring his Breast, and shewing him the Marks of many Wounds, *These* (quoth he) *have I receiv'd*, *Augustus*, *in thy Service, never supplying my Place by a Deputy.* Which said, the Emperor descending to the Bar, pleaded the Soldier's Cause, and won it. Never did sovereign Prince, or any that command in Chief, lose any Thing by being bountiful of Favours to their Men of War: For this Act quickly spreading it self over all the Provinces, did so endear him to the military Men, that they all thought their Services well recompenc'd, in that his Graciousness to that one Man.

§ 49. And now were they so far given over to him, that the Honours conferr'd on *Agrippa*, could not increase their Love, well it might their Admiration. *Agrippa* was of a mean and common Parentage; but supplying the Defects of his Birth, with the Perfections of his Mind, he became very potent with *Augustus*, who not only made him Consul, but his Companion in the Tribunitian Authority, and Provost of the City. So many Titles were now heap'd on him, that *Mecenas* perswaded the Prince to give him his Daughter *Julia* to Wife, affirming it impossible for *Agrippa* to live safe, considering how open new Creatures lie to the Attempts of malicious Men, unless he were ingrafted into the Royal Stem of the *Cæsars*. On which Cause questionless, for the stronger Establishment of

of his new Honour, *Seianus* afterward attempted, but not with like Success, the like Match with *Livia*, *Tiberius's* Daughter-in-Law.

§ 50. The Senate, People, and Men of War thus severally reduc'd to a Mediocrity of Power and Content, the next Labour is to alter the old, and establish a new Government of the City it self. To effect which, he dash'd all former Laws, by which the Allies and Confederates of the State, were made free Denizens of the Town. That he conceiv'd to be a Way to draw the whole Empire into one City; and by the monstrous Growth and Increase of this, to make poor the rest. Therefore this Privilege he communicated unto few only, partly that in the Times of Dearth, the City might not so much feel the Want of Sustenance, and partly that so ancient an Honour might not be disesteem'd; but principally lest *Rome*; replenish'd with so huge a Multitude of stirring and unruly Spirits, should grow too headstrong to be govern'd in due Order. The greatest and most populous Cities, as they are pronest unto Faction and Sedition; so is the Danger greatest, both in it self, and the Example, if they should revolt.

§ 51. This provident Course, notwithstanding there were in *Rome* Men more than enough, and among them not a few Malecontents, and Murmurers at the present State, such as contemn'd the Consuls, and hated the Prince. To keep these in Compass, *Augustus*, it being impossible for him to be still Resident at *Rome*, and dangerous to be absent, constituted a Provost of the City, for the most Part chosen out of the Senators, assigning him a Strength of 6000 Men, call'd *Milites Urbani*, or the City-Soldiers. To him he gave absolute and Royal Authority, both in the Town and Territory near adjoining, during his own Absence. To him were Appeals brought from the Magistrates; and

and finally, to his Tribunal were refer'd all Causes of Importance, not in *Rome* only, but the greatest Part of *Italy*. *Mesalla* was the first Provost, but Proof being had of his Insufficiency, the Charge was committed to *Agrippa*; who did not only settle and confirm the City, but speedily freed *Italy* from Thieves and Robbers, and stopp'd the Courses of many other Troublers of the State.

§ 52. It is recorded, that in the Civil Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, one *Pontius Velestinus*, of the *Marian* Faction, told his General, that he did well to fewer the Country; but *Italy* would never want Wolves, as long as *Rome* was so fit a Forest, and so near to retire unto. The like might have been spoken to *Agrippa*; that he did well to clear the common Roads and Passages; but *Italy* would never want Thieves, whilst *Rome* was so good a Place of Refuge: For though he did, as far as human Industry could extend, endeavour a general Reformation, both within the City, and without; yet neither could he remedy nor foresee all Mischiefs. Still were there many, and those great, Disorders, committed in the Night-Season, when as no Eye, but that to which no Darknes is an Obstacle, could discern the Malefactors. For in the first Proscription, many Men us'd to walk the Streets well weapon'd, pretending only their own Safety. Indeed it was to make their best Advantage of such Men as they met, either in unfrequented Lanes and Passages, or travelling, as their Occasions did direct them, in the Night.

§ 53. To repress therefore the foul Insolencies of these Sword-men, *Augustus* did ordain a Watch, consisting of 7000 Free-men. their Captain being a Gentleman of *Rome*. In the Day-Time, the Guard of the Town was committed to the Provost and his City-Soldiers, these Vigils resting in their standing Camps; in the Night-Season, one Part took

their Stations in the most suspicious Places of the City; another, in perpetual Motion, travers'd the Streets; the rest lying in the *Corps du Garde*, to relieve their Companions. By which Means, he not only remedy'd the present Disorders, but preserv'd the City from Danger of Fire also; yea, and secur'd himself from all Night-Tumults, which carry with them (altho' but small) more Terror and Affrightment, than greater Commotions in the Day. Never till now were the common People Masters of their own, both Lives and Substance; and now was Travel in the Night as safe, though not so pleasant, as at Noon.

§ 54. The People and City thus settled, his next Study is to keep the Provinces in a Liking of the Change. But little Rhetorick needed to win their Liking, who had long desir'd the present Form of Government; mistrusting the People's Regiment, by Reason of Noble mens Factions, Covetousness of Magistrates, the Laws affording no Security, being sway'd hither and thither by Ambition and Corruption. These Provinces, when he first rid the Government, he thus divided; *Asia, Africa, Numidia, Betica, Norbonensis, Sicilia, Corsica, Sardinia*, all *Greece, Crete, Cyprus, Pontus, and Bythinia*, being quiet and peaceable Provinces, of known and faithful Obedience, he assign'd unto the Senate; but the new conquer'd Regions, such as had not digested their Loss of Liberty, with whom any Rebellion or War was to be fear'd, he retain'd under his own Command. Such were *Taraconensis, Lusitanica, Lugdunensis, Germany, Belgica, Aquitanica, Syria, Cilicia, Ægypt, Dalmatia, Mysia, Pannonia*, &c. This he did, as he gave out, to sustain the Danger himself alone, leaving to the Senate the Sweet at their Ease; but the Truth was, to keep them without Arms, himself always strong, and in a Readiness. Questionless the *Cæsarean* Provinces,

ces, growing so strong, and perceiving the Consular so weak, assum'd to themselves the creating and establishing the future Princes. *Galba* was made Emperor by the *Spanish* and *French* Legions; *Vitellius* by the *German*, *Vespasian* by the *Syrian* and *Pannonian*; the Consular Provinces never stirring, either to prevent their Attempts, or to revenge them.

§ 55. These Provinces, the better to manage the Affairs of the Empire, he had peculiarly specify'd in his Register, what Tributes they pay'd, what Presents they sent in, what Customs in them were levy'd. That Book also comprehended the Wealth of the publick Treasury, and necessary Charge issu'd out of it; what Number of Citizens and Allies there were in Arms; what Strength there was by Sea; with all other Circumstances concerning the Extent, Strength, Riches, and Particulars of his Estate. *William* of *Normandy* did the like, at his first Entrance into *England*, when he compos'd that censual Roll of all this Kingdom, which we call *Dooms-Day-Book*, or the Roll of *Winton*; according unto which, Taxations were impos'd, and Aids exacted. The greatest Princes have not thought it a Disparagement to be good Husbands, to know the Riches of their Crowns, and have an Eye to their *Intrado*.

§ 56. *Britain* was left out of this Bead-Roll, either because from thence there neither was much Hope of Profit, nor much Fear of Hurt; or else, because being more desirous to keep, than enlarge the Monarchy, he thought it most expedient to confine it within the Bounds appointed by Nature. *Danubius* on the North, Mount *Atlas* on the South, *Euphrates* on the East, and the main Ocean on the West, did bound his Empire, and defend it. Some Kingdoms have their Limits laid out by Nature; and those which have adventur'd to extend them

farther, have found it fatal. The *Persians* never did attempt to stretch their Territory beyond *Oxus*, but they miscarry'd in the Action: And what was that poor River, if compar'd unto the Ocean?

§ 57. Many who lov'd Action, or expected Preferment by the Wars, incited him unto the Conquest and Plantation of these Countries; affirming, that the barbarous People were naturally bad Neighbours; and though for the present not very strong, nor well skill'd in Arms, yet might a weak Enemy in Time gather great Strength: That he brought to pursue the War, for his Father *Julius's* Sake, who first shew'd that Island to the *Romans*: That it yielded both Refuge and Supply to the Malecontents of *France*, and Enemies in *Germany*: That he would lose the Benefit of a wealthy Country, stor'd with all Manner of Provision, and the Command of a valiant Nation, born as it were unto the Wars: That it was an Apostacy from Honour, to lie still, and add nothing to the Conquest of his Ancestors: That he was in all Equity bound, as far as in him was, to reduce to Civility, from Barbarism, so many proper and able Men.

§ 58. To these Motives, *Augustus* reply'd, ' That he had already refus'd to wage War with the *Parthian*, a more dangerous Neighbour, and far worse Enemy, than the *Britains*: That he had wast and desert Ground enough in his own Dominions, for many a large Plantation, when he saw it needful: That he had constantly refus'd, though with great Facility he might, to conquer any more of the barbarous Nations: That as in the natural Body, a Surfeit is more dangerous, than Fasting; so in the Body politick, too much is more troublesome, than a little: That the *Roman* Monarchy had already exceeded the *Persian* and *Macedonian*; and to extend it farther, was the next Way

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Way to make it totter, and fall by its own Weight: That he had learn'd in the Fable, not to lose the Substance, by catching the Shadow: That many puissant Nations lay in and about *Britanny*, against whom Garrisons must be kept; and he fear'd the Revenue would not quit the Cost.

§ 59. For the Assurance of the Provinces already conquer'd, he dispers'd into them 23 Legions, with their Aids; whose Pay only, besides Provision of Corn, and Officers Wages, amounted to five Millions and an half of our *English* Pounds, and somewhat more, which were so suddenly paid unto the Armies, that we read seldom in the Histories of that Empire, of any Mutiny amongst the Soldiers, for Want of Pay: A Happiness whereof these Ages have been little guilty. For the amassing of his Treasure, and defraying of this Charge, *Augustus* made not Use only of his own Revenue. Wars which are undertaken, and Soldiers that are levy'd for the common Safety, ought in all Reason to be maintain'd on the common Purse. Grandeur, and Security of an Empire, concerns, in all Respects, as much the People, as the Prince: For which Cause, he erected an Exchequer in the City, which was call'd *Aerarium militare*, or the Soldiers Treasury; whereto the twentieth Part of every Man's Estate was brought, according to the true and perfect Valuation. This was esteem'd an heavy Burden at the first, and indeed it was; but that the People felt the Sweetness and Effects of it in the common Safety. In that Respect, the Interest was greater than the Principal. Subjects that have a Care either of the common Peace or Honour, will not repine at Payments and Taxations, though more than ordinary. It is a poor Conceit to think, that Princes either are able or oblig'd to maintain the Wars, without Assistance from their People; or that

that the Treasures, which in these Respects they give the King, they do not give unto themselves. I may perhaps repute him for a cunning Sophister, but never for a faithful Subject, which coms Distinctions betwixt the Welfare of the King, and the Weal of the Kingdom.

§ 60. These Legions he employ'd as Occasion was, either to curb the Natives, or secure the Borders. The Rom. Empire seldom had such perfect Peace, but that there were Employments always for the Soldiers. If that they had in any Place a short Cessation from the Wars, yet they were not idle. Idleness doubtless is the greatest Enemy to martial Discipline; therefore he kept them at such Times perpetually busy'd, either in paving Bogs, or in draining Marshes: By Means whereof, he made not only many of the barbarous Countries both fruitful in themselves, and profitable to the Exchequer, but thereby also he secur'd his own Affairs, and disarm'd his Enemies. For many times the barbarous People, trusting to such Advantages, were apt too often to rebel; and having got themselves within those Mires and Fastnesses, stood on their Guard; as in some Fashion able or defensible Fortress. The surest Means to keep a conquer'd People from all Occasion of revolting, is, to lay waste their Wood-Lands, and make all Parts passable. The Opportunity of a safe Retreat, makes not more Thieves than Rebels.

§ 61. Those whom he plac'd over his Provinces and Armies, he neither would remove under three Years Government, nor yet continue after five: A longer Stay, might teach them too much of the Nature of the People, and perhaps prompt them to work into the Favour of the Natives, and the Men of War; and so at last, to establish in themselves a Sovereignty. *Cæsar's* long Stay in *Gaul*, (a second five Years being added unto that which

was

was first allow'd him) made him so potent with the People, and gracious with the Soldiers, that in the End, he brought the Roman Empire under his Subjection: And on the other Side, to take them from their Charges, under three Years Continuance, were to have call'd them Home before they were well learn'd in the Customs and the Nature of the Provinces; so making them unable to instruct their Successors. As for the Men whom he employ'd in those Commands, he call'd them always out of the most valiant and upright, in Camp and Senate; A Prince more willing and desirous not to employ Men likely to offend, than after the Offence, to punish and chastise them.

§ 62. Besides his Forces by Land, he also maintain'd at Sea two invincible Armadoes. The one lay at Anchor near *Ravenna*, in the upper Sea, to awe and defend *Dalmatia*, *Crete*, *Greece*, *Cyprus*, *Asia*, &c. The other at *Misenum*, in the lower Sea, to protect and keep under *France*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *Ægypt*, *Syria*, &c. Neither was this the only Use of two such puissant Fleets; but in all Probability they were to cleanse the Sea of Pyrates, to have a Care to the conducting of the Tributes and Customs into the Exchequer; and serv'd also for transporting Corn, and other necessary Provisions, for the Sustainance and Relief of the City. In the ensuing civil Wars, these two Navies prov'd to be of great Importance; the Revolt of them giving as great a Blow to the one Side, as a Comfort to the other. The principal Assurance of *Otho* in the Wars, was the immoveable Fidelity of the *Misenum* Fleet; and the siding of the other with *Vespasian*, brake the Hearts of *Vitellius's* best Followers.

§ 63. *Augustus*, as he strengthen'd the Provinces in general, so did he cast an especial Eye on three Particulars, viz. *Italy*, *France*, and *Ægypt*. *Italy* rounded *Rome*, the Metropolis of the Empire, and therefore

therefore he ought to be well assur'd of its good Faith and Allegiance to him: Nor was he ignorant, that the *Bellum Sociale*, rais'd by the People of that Country in the free State, more shook and endanger'd the Empire, than the Invasions of *Pyrrhus* or *Annibal*. Therefore, as formerly, he plant'd in it 32 Colonies of old and trusty Soldiers, to keep it sure unto himself; so now he did divide it into eleven Regions, each having peculiar Magistrates and under Officers. This not so much to ease the City-Prator, altho' he had Employment enough at *Rome*, but because it was thick-set, and, as it were, overlaid with People, whose Rising might endanger the Commonwealth: So by his Colonies he kept a Garrison upon them, as it were, that they could not revolt; and by his Officers and Justiciars, (as I may call them) he set so streight a Watch about them, that they durst not practise.

§ 64. *France*, then call'd *Gaul*, was both a large and fertile Country, stor'd with a People valiant in all Attempts, and in many desperate: A People with which the old *Romans* fought rather to maintain their own Liberty, than to increase their Dominions: A People whose Progenitors had sack'd the City; and finally, with whom the *Romans* durst not make War, till they had almost all the Residue of the World in Subjection. Remembrance of their ancient Reputation, and Store of Money, might occasion many desperate Practices against the Quiet of the Empire. The readiest Way to keep them in Obedience, was, to keep them poor; for without Wealth, high Stomachs may well feed on the Hope of Liberty, but digest it never. *Licinius* his freed Man, was the fittest Fellow for such an Office, who is presently made the Task-Master of the Province. The *French* us'd to pay a monthly Tribute, which he much enhaunc'd, (besides private and petty Means of prevailing) by making

making fourteen Months in a Year. The *French* Solicitors at *Rome* make Complaint to *Augustus*; he sometimes yielded unto them, sometimes excus'd his freed Man; some Things he would not know, many he would not believe, others he dissembled. *Licinius*, to make up his Peace, sent to the Emperor all his Treasure, and that huge Mass of Gold and Silver, by those unlawful Means heap'd up together; which he not only willingly receiv'd, but his Turn being serv'd, and the *French* not a little impoverish'd, he recall'd *Licinius*, and sent *Tiberius* to settle the Province. So old and common a Thing it is with Great Princes, to suffer their Vice-Roys and Under-Officers, to suck, like Spunges, the Wealth of the Subject, 'till they are quite full, and then to squeeze them into their own Coffers.

§ 65. But the Province whose Tuition and Defence he principally regarded, was *Ægypt*; not so much for the Valour and Animosity of the Inhabitants, as the natural Strength and Situation of the Place. *Alexander* of *Macedon* having annex'd it to his Empire, never committed the entire Government and Jurisdiction thereof to one Man, fearing least he presuming on the Wealth of the People, and Scite of the Country, would settle the Possession in himself. And so *Augustus* calling to Mind as well the Multitude, as the Levity and Inconstancy of the Natives; that it was very rich in Coin, and the *Roman* Granary, (as serving the City four Months yearly with Coin) not only trusted not the Rule thereof into the Hands of any of the Senators, but expressly forbad any of that Order, without his especial Permission, to sojourn there. It is a Principle in State, never to license Men of great Houses and Credit among the People, to have free Access into that Country, whose Revolt may endanger the whole Empire. Wherefore it was a Weakness, doubtless, in the Counsel of K. *Henry*,

of that Name the sixth, to suffer *Richard* Duke of *York* to pass at Pleasure into *Ireland*; where he had Harbour and Relief, and whence he brought Supply both of Men and Money. But to return to *Ægypt*; *Germanicus* entering once into *Alexandria*, only to see the Antiquities of it, and return, stirr'd such Suspicions and Distractions in the jealous Head of *Tiberius*, that he spar'd not sharply to rebuke him for it. *Vespasian* also being, by the *Syrian* Legions, chosen Emperor, first assur'd himself of *Ægypt*, as the Key of the Sea and Land, with a small Power against a strong Host easily defended. This Place he resolv'd to make his Sanctuary, if his Designs succeeded not luckily: And to this Place he hasten'd, after the Defeat of the *Vitellian* Army, that so detaining the ordinary Provision of Victuals, he might by Famine compel the City of *Rome* to stand at his Devotion. The Government of this Province was, by *Augustus*, always committed to some one of the *Roman* Gentry, as less able, by Reason of his low Fortunes, to work against the Prince's Safety; neither would he allow his Substitute the glorious Attributes of Lieutenant, *Legatus*, Vice-Roy, or Proprætor; Captain, or President of *Ægypt*, was their highest Title; their being even in Titles no small Motives to Ambition.

§ 66. *Augustus* having, by these Means, reduc'd both the City and Provinces under his absolute Command, and being now declining in Strength, by Reason of a sudden and violent Sicknes, began to call his Wits to Counsel, how to dispose of the Estate after his Decease; Male Child he never had any; his Daughter *Julia*, a Woman of immodest Carriage, never made farther Use of her Father's Greatness, than that she satisfy'd her Lusts with the greater Insolence. *Marcellus*, his Sister's Son, and *Julia's* Husband, was a young Man of an ingenuous Disposition, and seemingly capable of the
For

Fortunes which attended for him: Him, being yet young, *Augustus* preferr'd to the Pontifical Dignity and *Edileship*; yet once upon his Sickness, he privately determin'd to chuse a Successor in the Commonwealth, rather than his own Family; and not to leave the Empire unto *Marcellus*, whom he held unable to undergo it; but to his Companion in Arms, *Agrippa*, a Man daunted neither with adverse, nor alter'd with prosperous Fortunes.

§ 67. This *Marcellus* afterwards so stomach'd, that he began to grudge at *Agrippa's* Greatness, and to bear a vigilant Eye on his Plots and Actions. Contrary, *Agrippa* unwilling to offend him, under whose future Government he was in all Likelihood to end the rest of his Days, with much ado obtain'd Leave to retire unto *Lesbos*, that so his Absence either might allay, or remove the Displeasure conceiv'd against him by the young Prince: An Action full of Wisdom and Magnanimity; for though *Augustus's* chief End was to discountenance the popular Dependencies of his Son, by the Favours heap'd upon his Servant; yet did *Agrippa* know, that a Favourite ought to have so much in him of the *Persian* Religion, as to worship the Rising Sun, and that he should resemble old *Janus* with the two Faces; with the one looking on the King regnant, with the other on the Prince successive.

§ 68. *Marcellus* being dead, *Agrippa* returning, marry'd his Widow, and on her begat two Sons, *Caius* and *Lucius*, whose Actions afterward afforded such Variety for Censure, that there was wanting neither much Reason to commend, nor little to reprove them. On these two, or at the least one of them, *Augustus* now grown aged, resolves to settle the Estate; and if they fail'd, upon such others as, by the Liberty of the Laws, he might adopt; Adoption, in the Estimation of the *Roman* Laws, being indeed another Nature. Posterity, whether it

be natural, or only legal, is the best Supporter of the Arms Imperial; such as both fortifies the Prince, and assures the Subject. Yet this he did not without much Reluctancy, and a great Conflict in his Mind. Sometimes his Thoughts suggested to him, that the design'd Successors draw to them all the Attendance and Respect from the Prince in Possession; that they have always a lingering Desire to be actually seated in the Throne; that they suppose the Life of the present Prince too tedious, not caring by what Means it were shortend; that sometimes it is pernicious, yea, even to the appointed Successor himself also. On the other Side, his better Thoughts prompted him to consider, in what a miserable Distraction he should leave the Empire, if sudden Death should take from him an Ability to nominate his Heir; the Fear conceiv'd in the whole City at his last Sicknes; that *Pyrrhus* of *Epirus* was of all Hands condemn'd, for leaving his Kingdom to the sharpest Sword; that the Commonwealth, fallen into Dissensions, could not be settled again without a lamentable War, and a bloody Victory; that the People seeing him old and childish, would not only condemn him, but perhaps endeavour to recover the old Liberty, tho' with the Ruin of the State; that it was the Custom of Tyrants to desire the eternizing of their Deaths, by the Downfall of their Countries.

§ 69. His Mind thus distracted and perplex'd, at last he brake in this Manner: 'Thou hast, *Othavian*, a Wolf by the Ears; which to hold still, or to let go, is alike dangerous. Many Inconveniences may ensue, if thou dost not declare thy Successor: more, if thou dost. The Good of the Republick consisteth in knowing the future Prince; thine own Welfare dependeth on the Concealment; the common Good is to be preferr'd before

fore any private; yet ought *Charity* to begin at Home. No, *Octavian*, no; as thou hast receiv'd, so shew thy self worthy of the Title of *Pater Patriæ*; yea, and perhaps this Designation may secure thine own Estate. For what will it profit the People, to contest with thee when they shall see a Successor at Hand, either of thine own Body, or thine own Appointment, ready to take thy Place, and revenge thy Wrongs?

§ 70. Thus resolv'd, he adopteth *Caius* and *Lucius*, desiring, though he made shew to the contrary, they should be Consuls elect, and call'd *Princes of the Youth*: Yet wisely fore-casting the Dangers incident to himself, if they should make their Abode in *Rome*, he sendeth them, with honourable Charge, into the Provinces abroad, as well to exercise them in Feats of War, as to take away all Cause of Faction in the Court, and Sedition in the City. Which Mystery of State, as it was anciently practis'd by most Princes, so at this Day by the Grand Seignior, who always sendeth his eldest Son unto *Amasia*, as Governor thereof; from whence, till the Death of his Father, he never returneth. In these Journeys dy'd the two young Princes; a Mishap which *Augustus* bare nobly; neither banishing Grief with a Stoical Apathy, nor spending the Time in Womanish Lamentations. Having perform'd due Rights to the Dead, he adopted his Wife's Son *Tiberius*; a Man, for the Conveniency and Ripeness of his Age, not unfit; in Feats of Arms, not unexpert; in human Learning, not ignorant, but withal suspected to be cruelly given, and possess'd with the hereditary Pride of the *Claudian* Family; a strange Medley of virtuous and vicious Qualities. *Tiberius*, such was the Will of his Father, to establish the Succession with more Stays than one, adopted *Germanicus*, his Brother *Drusus's* Son, then commanding over eight Legions in *Germany*; which done,

...to his Charge in *Mysia*. The same day
...to be his Heir, as it was afterwards; and not in-
...; neither in Case to the State, nor in Love
... the Party, but to win Honour to himself, and to raise the
... People again with for him, when they should see that
... Disproportion in all Royal and Kingly Qualities, be-
... the old and new Emperors: A Patch after imitated by
... in the Adoption of *Caesar*.

71. The last (tho' not the least) Help of the Empire's E-
... was, the long Life and Reign of our *Augustus*, as
... the State 16 Years before, and 44 Years after his
... in the Sovereignty, by the Senate and People.
... the young Men of the City, were then after the Re-
... of the Monarchy; most of the old Men having seen the civil
... War: Few had seen what was the ancient Form of Government
... in the free Commonwealth, many did not desire it: For at the
... enjoying Peace both at Home and Abroad, and hearing
... sad and tragical Reverses their Fathers made of the former
... Troubles and Proscriptions, they contented themselves with
... the new Government, as more seeming a secure and happy
... than a dangerous and factious Liberty. By which,
... Time of Empire, and the Policies already rectified, be-
... sides many others, which I can neither learn by Reflection, nor
... by Presumptions, did *Augustus* so firmly fasten the Ro-
... Monarchy, that it continu'd many hundreds of Years im-
... and unalter'd, tho' all his immediate Successors were
... in a manner monstrous, inhuman Devils, and indeed any Thing
... rather than Men, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudianus*, *Nero*, *Gallus*, *Otho*, and
... *Vespasian*, both by their own Tyrannies, and their bloody
... Extortion, would have ruin'd any Monarchy, not founded by
...

16 JY 60
... To speak concerning the domestical Affairs of this Em-
... is beyond my Theme: as either how far he suffer'd him-
... to be order'd by his Wife *Livia*, or whether he us'd Variety
... of Women, not so much to satisfy a disordinate Appetite, as
... by many Women to fish out the secret Designs of many
... Men. He was not so much a Statesman, as a perfect Soldier;
... and in all his Wars, was more prosperous by Fortune, or his
... Captains Valour, than his own. The Commonwealth,
... which he found weak, and in Rubbish, he left adamantine
... and invincible. In Behaviour, he was affable and gracious;
... in his Discourse, sometimes to the Good, of a most sweet Dis-
... position; to the Lewd and Dishonest, harsh and unpleasant:
... Friendship he contracted with few, and that slowly; but to
... whom he once lov'd, constant and bountiful to the last.
... Finally, such an one he was, of whom I will only say what I
... and spoken of before: It had been an impossible Speech to the
... Commonwealth of Rome, if either he had never dy'd, or never been
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